

AN  
HISTORICAL  
GEOGRAPHY OF  
IRAN

---

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY  
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
C. E. BOSWORTH

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

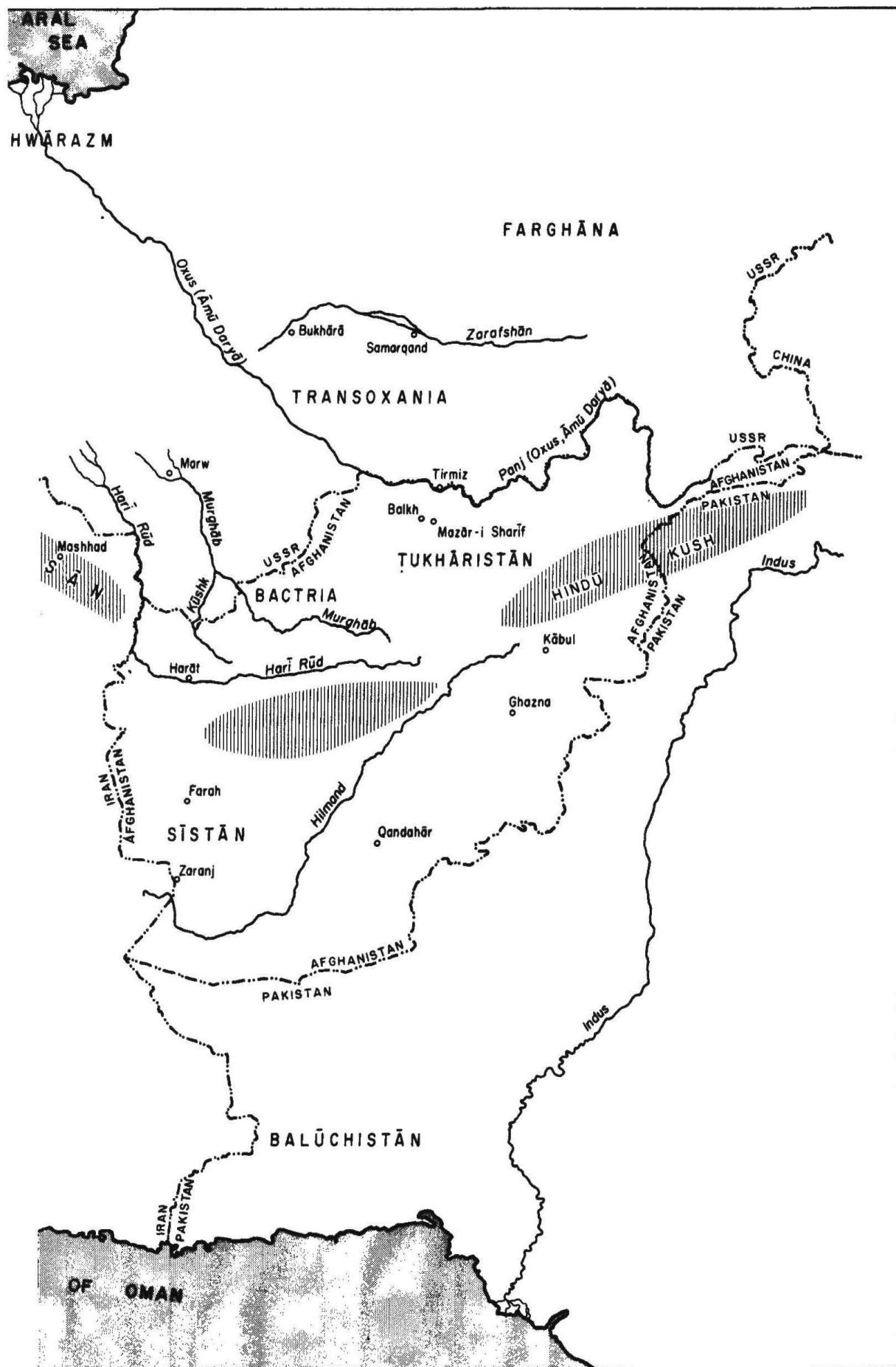
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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
AI	<i>Athār-é Irān</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AN	<i>Akademiia Nauk</i>
ANVA	<i>Avhandlingar utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOHung	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
AOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
BSO[A]S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
EI <sup>1</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
EI <sup>2</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
EW	<i>East and West</i>
Farhang	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
GAL	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
GIPh	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GMS	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HOr	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
IA	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
IQ	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
Iran, JBIPS	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
Isl.	<i>Der Islam</i>
IUTAKÈ	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MO	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NTS	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OON	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
PRGS	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i>
SBAW Berlin	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SBWAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Bayr. AW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
Soch.	<i>V. V. Bartol'd, Sochineniia, Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.</i>
SON	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
Survey of Persian Art	<i>A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.</i>
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>









## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirechye*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Ali Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works (Sochineniia)* that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

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ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarqand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliot. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizarī's *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,<sup>1</sup> that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

*The Historical Geography of Iran* is essentially an analytical and

<sup>1</sup> "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Tīmūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Hāfiz-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,<sup>2</sup> and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

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abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: «. . .»). The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [. . .] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH  
December 1981

AN  
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IRAN



## INTRODUCTION

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THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.<sup>1</sup> The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.<sup>2</sup> Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

<sup>1</sup> «F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)»

<sup>2</sup> For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.<sup>3</sup> These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,<sup>4</sup> as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."<sup>5</sup> Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

<sup>3</sup> «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, p. 288.»

<sup>4</sup> In the *Kutāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18<sup>2</sup>, Sughd was called *Īrān al-A'lā*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

<sup>5</sup> «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

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basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotho-Slavic Relations"]<sup>6</sup>—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,<sup>7</sup> and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistan, to the Harī Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Harī Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."<sup>8</sup> According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedi do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (*Sbornik ORIAS* = *Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

<sup>7</sup> «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Shifo-evropeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednuaia Azia i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

<sup>8</sup> *Voyages*, I, 269.

<sup>9</sup> For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.



## CHAPTER VIII

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### Qūhistān, Kirmān, and Makrān

THE settlement of the southern part of Iran by the Aryans took place, most probably, independently of the movement of the Medes described above. The Iranians of the southern regions are subsumed by Herodotus (I, 125), in distinction from the Medes, under the common name Πέρσαι, Persai; among the Persai are also reckoned the Δηρονσιαῖοι and Γερμάνιοι, from whom the southeastern regions Gedrosia (now Makrān) and Kirmān received their names. This movement also probably proceeded from east to west. These Aryans became separated from the northern branch of the Iranians, perhaps in Khurāsān. They occupied Sīstān, where the tribe mentioned by Herodotus under the name Σαράγγαι remained; subsequently the more frequent names for this people were Σαράγγοι (Arrianes), Zarangae (Pliny), Δράγγαι (Arrianes, Strabo), Drangae (Pliny), and the name of the region became Δραγγιανή, Drangiana. As we have seen, this name was preserved in the Middle Ages in the name of the capital of Sīstān, Zaranj. H. Kiepert likewise assumes a separate movement of the Aryans southward across Sīstān.<sup>1</sup>

Moving on from Sīstān, the Aryans must have first of all crossed the desert on the way into the northeastern part of the present province of Kirmān toward the mountain spurs that belonged, in their geological formation and northwest-southeastward orientation, to the Zagros system; this system forms the western border of Iran and cuts, by means of individual mountain chains, through the plateau itself. In historical times, the important road led from Sīstān to Bam. The cultivated belt is separated here from Sīstān by an extensive steppe area, but one less extensive than the vast desert stretching northward. A low row of hills, extending toward the town of Khabīṣ, divides this desert into two parts, the Dasht-i Kawīr and the Dasht-i Lūt; the Arab geographers subsumed both these parts under one name, the Wilderness of Khurāsān (*Mafāzat Khu-*

<sup>1</sup> *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie* (Berlin, 1878), p. 67, no. 2. Uncertainty of the movement itself.

*rāsān*).<sup>2</sup> The etymology of the word *kawīr* is not yet fully understood; Tomaschek sees in it the Old Iranian word *gawēr* (*kawir*), from *gaw* (cf. Latin *cavitas*).<sup>3</sup> It is more likely, however, that the word stems from the Arabic root *q-f-r*: *qafr* pl. *qifār* or *qufūr*, meaning "a desert without water or vegetation." The characteristic outer marks of *kawīrs* are a completely flat surface, black clayey soil, green pools of water, and great quantity of salt, sometimes lying in the form of separate white spots, sometimes covering vaster areas in the form of a thin white crust that crunches under one's feet and from a distance resembles ice. In rainy weather, the *kawīr* acquires the appearance of a dirty marsh or even of a large lake. The "Wilderness of Khurāsān" impressed even the Arabs as a desert of extreme sterility, even when compared with those of Arabia and northern Africa with which they were so familiar. Iṣṭakhrī says that in the latter countries all the deserts, except for limited areas, include good pasture lands, and are therefore divided up among various nomadic tribes, whereas the desert of Khurāsān has almost no inhabitants at all; one sees only the road and the post stations along it.<sup>4</sup> The words of the same geographer, however, suggest that nomads nevertheless passed through even these parts, for caravans were exposed not only to natural dangers of the desert but also to the raids of brigands,<sup>5</sup> whose temerity was enhanced by the fact that the areas bordering the desert were under the rule of different

<sup>2</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 1637, about the building of the *aywānāt* in the *mafāza* under Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī, governor of Khurāsān. [On the central deserts, see Gabriel, *Durch Persiens Wüsten*; *idem*, "The Southern Lut and Iranian Baluchistan," *GJ*, XCII (1938), 193-210; W. B. Fisher, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, I, 90-101. As Gabriel points out elsewhere (*Die Erforschung Persiens*, pp. 301-302 n. 49), the names "Dasht-i Kawīr" and "Dasht-i Lūt" are not used by the local people, and the first expression is something of a tautology.]

<sup>3</sup> Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie*, II, 582.

<sup>4</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 227-28.

<sup>5</sup> For the raids of the Kūfichān, see also Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithogr.), p. 250. For their pacification by Qāwurd and for the latter's constructions, see Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rikh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1886), pp. 5 ff. [ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī-Pārizī (Tehran, 1343/1964), pp. 4 ff.]; cf. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Mules in Persia*, pp. 416 ff.; for the towers, p. 418. See the description of the road through the desert between Nāyin and Ṭabas in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, pp. 250-51 (from Iṣfahān to Ṭabas, 110 farsakhs; from Nāyin to Garma, 43 farsakhs; from there onward the desert; along this desert road, every two farsakhs *gunbadak-hā* [small domed structures] were erected (*sic*); moving sands; Ribāt-i Zubayda (called Ribāt-i Marānī); Ṭabas, *ibid.*, p. 252). From there forty farsakhs to the north was Nishāpūr, and the same distance to the south, Khabīṣ; to the east was a *kūhī muḥkam* [fortified mountain?]. The ruler was Gilakī b. Muḥammad (see pp. 252-53 for their customs).

governments; brigands could escape pursuit by one government by fleeing to the possessions of another. The raids seem to have been carried out by the Balūchīs and Kūfichīs (al-Qufṣ, see below). According to Maqdisī, the Buwayhid ‘Aḍud al-Dawla (949-983) defeated these peoples and took from them eighty youths as hostages; these stayed in permanent captivity in Shīrāz and were released only in exchange for an equal number of others. After these measures, the brigands did not touch those caravans that had an escort from the sultān or authority of Fārs, that is, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla; only the possessions and caravans of the Sāmānids remained the target of the brigands’ raids.<sup>6</sup>

Several roads connect Kirmān with Qūhistān, the mountainous region in the southern part of Khurāsān; mentioned especially often is the road through Rāwar and the oasis of Nayband to Khūr, and that through Khabīṣ to Khusb. Qūhistān did not have a great significance in the history of Iran. As early as the tenth century the villages were separated from each other by extensive areas where only nomads could live; there were no rivers there, but only wells and underground canals.<sup>7</sup> Palm trees grew in the southern part of Qūhistān, but the rest of the province was counted among the “cold regions.” Tomaschek remarks that Qūhistān gives an idea of what Iran may look like many thousands of years hence, as a result of dessication and weathering of the soils.<sup>8</sup> Qāyin<sup>9</sup> and Tūn<sup>10</sup> were

<sup>6</sup> Maqdisī, p. 489. [This passage is translated in Bosworth, “The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian History,” *Iran, JBIPS*, XIV (1976), 14-15.]

<sup>7</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 274-75.

<sup>8</sup> *Zur historischen Topographie*, II, 572. See J. H. Kramers, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. “Qūhistān”; Fisher, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, I, 73-76.

<sup>9</sup> Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, pp. 53-64, regarding Qāyin: only a few houses inside the city wall; the bazaar, mosque, madrasa, and the greater part of the town are all outside. The mosque was built in 1368 (inscription). Its trade: two-thirds of the goods go to Bandar ‘Abbās, one-third to Mashhad and Sabzawār. The ruins of a fortress to the south of the town, and of another (Qal ‘a-yi Dukhtar) to the east. Only 4,000 inhabitants in Qāyin (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 407). Today, the chief city is Birjand (up to 25,000 inhabitants), see Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 69; but the title “ruler (*hukumrān*) of Qāyin” as before “amīr of Qāyin” (*ibid.*). “Qā’in territory” to the south all the way to Bandān (*ibid.*, p. 74), that is, to the border of Sīstān. The term Qā’ināt.

<sup>10</sup> The road from Ṭabas to Tūn according to Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithogr.), p. 253: twelve farsakhs from Ṭabas was Raḡqa (a Friday mosque); twenty farsakhs further on, Tūn. Description of Tūn: *ibid.*, pp. 253-54. Eighteen farsakhs further on, Qāyin (*ibid.*, p. 255, description of the town). From Qāyin, eighteen miles to the northeast was Zawzan, and thirty farsakhs to the south, Harāt. Nāṣir-i Khusrāw’s journey from Qāyin to Sarakhs (*ibid.*, p. 257).

the chief towns, so that the whole region is called Tunocain or Tonocain by Marco Polo.<sup>11</sup> Only Qāyin had commercial importance; Maqdisī calls it "the warehouse of the goods of Khurāsān and the treasure-trove of Kirmān" (*furdat Khurāsān wa-khizānat Kirmān*).<sup>12</sup> There were, moreover, many mountain castles in this region, so that Qūhistān became in the eleventh century one of the centers of power for the Ismā'īlīs.<sup>13</sup>

The deserts of Kirmān, Makrān, and Sind were considered less sterile than that of Khurāsān, and they were inhabited by nomadic tribes. The areas near mountains were suited for agriculture and fruit growing, and here the inhabitants soon adopted a sedentary way of life. Herodotus counts the people of Kirmān among the sedentary tribes of Persia. The Arabs divided the cultivated areas according to the kind of crops grown there, into *ṣurūd* (cold areas) and *jurūm* (warm areas), from the Persian words *sard* (cold) and *garm* (hot). In Kirmān, only the northern districts, occupying approximately one-fourth of the whole region, were reckoned as *ṣurūd*, the rest were *jurūm*; and whereas the crops of the former-cold-region could absolutely not be grown in the southern regions, the reverse did occasionally occur.<sup>14</sup> Cultivation of the most characteristic tree of the south, the date palm, stops at present, according to Tumanskii, a fair distance south of the city of Kirmān;<sup>15</sup> several stunted palm trees, however, were unexpectedly seen by him considerably further north, on the road from Yazd to Tehran, in the village of 'Aqda.<sup>16</sup> The cultivated lands in Kirmān lay in separate patches and thus differed from the more continuous areas under cultivation in Fārs.

The towns of Kirmān mentioned by the Arab geographers have partly conserved their former names, as, for example, Bam, Khabīṣ,

<sup>11</sup> Minaev's translation, pp. 45-46, 56-57 [Eng. tr. Yule, I, 79, 119].

<sup>12</sup> Maqdisī, p. 321.

<sup>13</sup> According to Juzjānī's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, 70 out of the 105 Ismā'īlī strongholds were in Qūhistān; according to Juwaynī (see Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 174), 110 were in Qūhistān. *Ibid.* for the title *Muhtashim*. [P.R.E. Wiley, "The Assassins in Quhistan," *JRCAS*, LV (1968), 180-83.]

<sup>14</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 159.

<sup>15</sup> "Ot Kaspiiskogo moria," p. 129.

<sup>16</sup> From Beliaev's letter: the mountain plateau with the city of Kirmān is, as it were, a promontory in the low-lying plain of Dasht-i Kawīr, Bāfq, etc. The palm trees in 'Aqda are a direct continuation of those of Bāfq, where they reach normal size and yield abundant fruit. For the considerable size of palms in Bāfq, see also Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 264; see also Beliaev, *Otchet*, no. 1, p. 37, for the climate of Bam and the neighboring but much lower-lying Khabīṣ.



Zarand, and some smaller places like Māhān. The last-named town is noted for the fact that the only monument from the Achaemenid period found in Kirmān was located there: in the mausoleum of Ni'mat Allāh Walī, a saint who lived in the fifteenth century and who founded the Ni'matallāhī order of dervishes. The find was a small pyramid on a triangular base, with a trilingual inscription (Persian, Assyrian, and the language of Susiana):<sup>17</sup> "I, Darius, great king, king of kings, king of the regions, king of this land, son of Gushtasp, the Achaemenid." We do not know whence this monument had been brought to Māhān.<sup>18</sup> The names of some other cities mentioned by the tenth-century geographers are now applied primarily to their corresponding districts, such as Narmāshīr, Bardasīr, Jīruft, and so on. The Arabs mention Sirjān as the chief city of Kirmān. Its location was probably not identical with that of Sa'idābād, the present capital of the district of Sirjān, but must have been to the northeast of it, in the present district of Rafsinjān, with its chief town, Bahrāmābād: this probability is based on the fact that the Arab geographers count only two days' march from Sirjān to Zarand.<sup>19</sup>

In Tomaschek's opinion, Sirjān became the capital of the province only in Arab times; prior to that the capital would have been the city of Kirmān, built by Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty, who named it Weh-Ardashīr, a name transformed by the Arabs into Bardasīr.<sup>20</sup> The city of Bardasīr is described in detail by Maqdisī, and at the close of the tenth century it was the administrative and military center of the region.<sup>21</sup> Sirjān, nevertheless, had already been the capital of the province of Kirmān in pre-Islamic times. The town created by Ardashīr seems to have been just a military camp; only in the second half of the tenth century,

<sup>17</sup> «That is, in Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite.»

<sup>18</sup> The monument was in St. Petersburg. F. H. Weissbach's article in *IAN* ser. 6, vol. IV (1910) ("Die sogenannte Inschrift von Kerman"). Picture of the Akkadian text also in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 184 ff. «The monument in question is a stone weight with an inscription of Darius I, originally in the Asiatic Museum and now in the Hermitage; for editions of the inscription, see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 114.»

<sup>19</sup> Le Strange, "The Cities of Kirman in the Time of Hamd Allāh . . . Mustawfi and Marco Polo," *JRAS* (1901), p. 289. [Aubin, "La question de Sirgān au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Studia iranica*, VI (1977), 285-90.]

<sup>20</sup> Zur historischen Topographie, I, 176.

<sup>21</sup> Maqdisī, 461. *Qal'a* inside the town. «See now Mīr Haydar, "Gudhārish az yak muṭālā'a-yi juḡhrāfiyā'i," *Majalla-yi Dānushkada-yi Adabiyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī* (Tabriz), no. 4 (1346/1967), pp. 466-85.»

under the Buwayhids, did it become the capital of the province. It conserved this place under the Saljuqs, who ruled here in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The most detailed information about the latter dynasty is given by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, who wrote in the seventeenth century, but who used earlier sources that he identified.<sup>22</sup> The Saljuq rulers spent seven months of the year in Bardasīr, and the remaining five further south, in Jīruft. The founder of this branch of the dynasty was Qāwurd, brother of Sulṭān Alp Arslān. Besides Qāwurd, who was especially concerned with the construction of caravanserais and other buildings so as to facilitate travel through the desert, Mughith al-Dīn Muḥammad I (1141-1156), a bloodthirsty tyrant who, however, protected the religious class and enjoyed its support, is credited with a whole series of buildings. He built a number of madrasas, *ribāts*, mosques, and hospitals in Bardasīr and Jīruft; at the Friday mosque of Bardasīr he founded a library containing 5,000 volumes in various branches of learning.<sup>23</sup>

Local traditions and ruins of the old city prove that the city of Bardasīr, or Guwāshīr (a name it still bore in the fourteenth century), stood on the site of the modern city of Kirmān. A plan of the city accompanies Khanikoff's book.<sup>24</sup> From among its buildings, the mosque of Malik is considered the most ancient one; tradition ascribes its foundation to Sulṭān Malikshāh (1072-1092), but according to historical sources, it was built by the local ruler Tūrānshāh (1085-1097) in the *rabaḍ* that was created only at that time.<sup>25</sup> The Friday mosque was built in the fourteenth century under the Muẓaffarids; there is an inscription with the date of the foundation (1 Shawwāl 750/13 December 1349). In the tenth cen-

<sup>22</sup> For Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, *Soch.* I, 76 n. 7. [At this place in his *Turkestan* (Eng. tr., p. 30 n. 7), Barthold cites Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm as an authority mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn and as being in fact identical with Muḥammad b. 'Alī Rāwandī, author at the beginning of the thirteenth century of the history of the Great Saljuqs, the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa-āyat al-surūr*. This Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm/Muḥammad b. 'Alī Rāwandī is obviously different from the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, on whom see Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 358, and Storey-Bregel', II, 1,059-60. See for a summary German translation of the work, M. T. Houtsma, "Zur Geschichte der Selḡuquen von Kermān," *ZDMG*, XXXIX (1885), 362-402. The history of the Kirmān Saljuqs is touched upon by Bosworth, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, V, 58-59, 87-90, 174-75, but there now exists a monograph on this dynasty by Erdoğan Merçil, *Kirmān Selçukluları* (Istanbul, 1980).]

<sup>23</sup> Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rikh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>24</sup> Khanikoff, *Mémoire*.

<sup>25</sup> Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rikh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, pp. 20-21.

tury, according to Maqdisī, an uninterrupted row of orchards stretched from Bardasīr to Māhān;<sup>26</sup> now, according to Khanikoff, this area is a desert almost as desolate as the Dasht-i Lūt.<sup>27</sup>

In the tenth century, the towns of Kirmān differed little from those of the rest of Persia and Central Asia. Most were surrounded by a wall with four gates; only the capital, Sirjān, is said to have possessed eight gates.<sup>28</sup> Also noteworthy is Iṣṭakhrī's remark that because of the lack of timber, the dwellings had the form of dome-like structures.<sup>29</sup> A similar type of structure exists in Kirmān even today; Tumanskii, who was there in 1894, says about the village of Nigār:<sup>30</sup> "A great number of homesteads have domelike roofs, which suggests a lack of construction timber."<sup>31</sup> After Sirjān, the most important city was Bam, the industrial center of the province; the cotton fabrics manufactured here were exported all over the Islamic world, including Egypt.<sup>32</sup> These fabrics were remarkable for their durability; one set of clothes made from this cloth could be worn for from five to twenty years. The manufacture of Kirmān shawls, famous to this day, became concentrated in Bam. At that time, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, the price of one shawl could be as much as 30 dinars, that is, 150 rubles.<sup>33</sup> At present, besides the Kirmān

<sup>26</sup> Maqdisī, p. 462.

<sup>27</sup> Khanikoff, *Mémoire*, p. 199. A plan of Kirmān is in Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 188. There are 50,000 inhabitants in the city (*ibid.*, p. 195); see also Rittikh, *Otchet o poezdke*, I, 204. The surface extent of the city is, according to Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 193), one mile from west to east and a little more from north to south. Kirmān at the time of the struggle between Luṭf 'Alī and Āghā Muḥammad: 70,000 men blinded, 20,000 women and children sold in slavery. (For the history and monuments of Bardasīr and Kirmān, see also Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Wazīr Kirmānī, *Ta'rikh-i Kirmān (Sālārīyya)*, ed. Bāstānī-Pārīzī (Tehran, 1340/1961); Kramers, *EP*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Kirmān; A.K.S. Lambton, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Kirmān.") [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 112-19. On the demography and agrarian structure of the region, see P. W. English, *City and Village in Iran: Settlement and Economy in the Kirman Basin* (Madison, Wis., 1966), and thereto, B. Spooner and P. C. Salzman, "Kirman and the Middle East: Paul Ward English's City and Village in Iran . . .," *Iran, JBIPS*, VII (1969), 107-13. The population of the town of Kirmān in ca. 1950 was 50,000 (*Farhang*, VIII, 317); in 1976, it was 140,309 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], p. 242).]

<sup>28</sup> Maqdisī, p. 464.

<sup>29</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 167.

<sup>30</sup> *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 126.

<sup>31</sup> There is yet another reason: the nature of the soil. Here the soil is sandy; there the roofs are on beams, although construction timber is just as scarce (from D. D. Beliaev's letter).

<sup>32</sup> Bam and the contemporary fortress, picture in Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 218. See also photographs in Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Kirmān*, facing p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, 223.

shawls, the Kirmān carpets are especially famous. The tenth-century geographers do not mention them, but this art of weaving already existed in the fourteenth century under Tīmūr; the master craftsmen of Fārs and Kirmān supplied silk rugs for the Friday mosque built by Tīmūr in Samarqand, now known by the name of Bibī Khānīm.<sup>34</sup> In the northern part of Kirmān, in Kūbanān, according to Yāqūt<sup>35</sup> and Marco Polo,<sup>36</sup> was concentrated the production of zinc oxide or tutty; this was exported from Kirmān to other countries as a medicine for eye ailments.

Of course, the Iranians penetrated into the southern part of Kirmān, the so-called "warm lands" (*garmsīr*), later than they did into the northern part; here the autochthonous population has to this day partly retained its distinctiveness from the Iranian conquerors. In the geographical sense, these parts have not yet been fully explored; even the question of where the interior basins end and where that of the Indian Ocean begins has not been adequately answered. The district of Jīruft is watered by the rivulet Khalīl Rūd (some travelers call it the Khalīrī). Tomaschek<sup>37</sup> refutes the assertion of E. A. Floyer,<sup>38</sup> an early nineteenth-century traveler, that this rivulet flows into the sea, and he suggests that it disappears in the sands;<sup>39</sup> yet in 1894, Tumanskii again heard that it flows into the sea.<sup>40</sup>

Jīruft was separated from the northeastern districts of Kirmān by the mountains of Bāriz, now Jibāl Bāriz.<sup>41</sup> The population of

<sup>34</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, ms., fol. 18a.

<sup>35</sup> *Mu'jam*, IV, 316.

<sup>36</sup> Minaev's translation, p. 56 [tr. Yule, I, 117-19 ("Cobinan"); cf. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia*, p. 12.]

<sup>37</sup> *Zur historischen Topographie*, I, 183.

<sup>38</sup> *Unexplored Baluchistan* (London, 1882). [Floyer was actually an official of the Anglo-Indian Telegraph Company stationed at Jāsk on the northern coast of the Gulf of Oman, who did not begin his travels into the interior of Makrān and Balūchistān till the 1870s; among his credits was that of being the first modern European to describe Bashkardia (see Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, pp. 225-26.)]

<sup>39</sup> The marshy lake called Jaz Mur'yān, some fifty miles long (approximately ninety miles from Bampūr); Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 143. Along the southern side of the lake, northward from the mountains. Bashākird was crossed for the first time by Sykes in 1893 (*ibid.*, pp. 306-308). In summer the lake dries up either completely or for the most part (*ibid.*, p. 143). In P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographien* (Leipzig-Zwickau, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1896-1936), III, 217, quotation from Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 220 line 12, about the absence of lakes (*būḥayra*) in Kirmān.

<sup>40</sup> *Ot Kaspuskogo moria*, p. 124.

<sup>41</sup> Beliaev, *Otchet*, I, 68, about the Jibāl Bāriz as the first serious barrier to winds bringing moisture from the ocean, from here on rains. [Bosworth, *ET*<sup>2</sup> Suppl., art. "Bāriz, Djabal."]

these mountains adopted Islam only in 'Abbāsīd times; and only under the Ṣaffārids, at the close of the ninth century, did it actually submit to Muslim rulers.<sup>42</sup> The city of Jīruft, whose ruins lie not far from the village of Karīmābād, was in pre-Mongol times one of the richest towns of the Islamic world. Here the road coming from the Persian Gulf port of Hurmuz (near modern Bandar 'Abbās) converged with the road coming from India through Jālk, and the goods brought to Jīruft<sup>43</sup> from India were then distributed to other Persian provinces. In the tenth century, the city ceded primacy in terms of size to Sirjān and Bam,<sup>44</sup> but its prosperity seems to have risen under the Saljuq rulers of Kirmān to the point where it was one of the two capitals of the realm, alongside Bardasīr. Foreign merchants lived mostly in the suburb of Qamādīn, which, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, was "the treasury of the wealthy and the warehouse of the owners of products of the East and West": *khazīna-i mutamawwilān wa ganj-khāna-i arbāb-i baḡā'i-i sharq wa gharb*).<sup>45</sup> Jīruft is mentioned under the name of Camadi by Marco Polo, in whose time the city was already completely ruined.<sup>46</sup>

The road from Jīruft to the sea went through the district of Rūdbār, also mentioned by Marco Polo. Between Rūdbār and the seacoast, in the mountains, primarily to the east of the road, lived the Kūfichīs or Qufš, in Persian Kūch or Kūfij, a people who spoke a special language of their own; according to Iṣṭakhri, they claimed Arab origin.<sup>47</sup> There were seven mountain chains in the region, each of which had its own chieftain; altogether, up to 10,000 men were counted among the inhabitants of the mountains. These mountaineers had no horses and undertook their incursions on foot; nevertheless, their raids spread fear all over Kirmān and the adjacent districts of Fārs and Sīstān. In religious terms, they favored

<sup>42</sup> Iṣṭakhri, p. 164.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169; Maqdisi, p. 486.

<sup>44</sup> Iṣṭakhri, p. 167.

<sup>45</sup> Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rikh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, I, 49.

<sup>46</sup> Minaev's translation, p. 49 [tr. Yule, I, 91-92]. The same identification in Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 267 «Camadin as a borough of Jīruft»), where there is also a reference to the article by A. Houtum-Schindler, "Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia," *JRAS* (1881), p. 495: "Camadi is a contraction of Kuhn-i Muhammedi, the canal or watercourse of Muhammed." According to Sykes, the ruins lie near Sarjaz, in the valley of the Khalīl Rūd, on the right bank. The fortress is square, each side measuring 286 yards (*Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 267). For these ruins, see also Beliaev, *Otchet*, I, 85 ff. On Yate's map, Sarjaz is on the same site where Camadi was recorded by Sykes (somewhat to the north of Karīmābād; in Beliaev, the ruins are delimited to the west of the meridian that links Sarjaz and Karīmābād).

<sup>47</sup> Iṣṭakhri, 164. [Bosworth, "The Kūfichīs or Qufš in Persian History."]

the cause of Shī'ism and recognized the authority of the Fāṭimid caliphs.<sup>48</sup> The might of the Buwayhids put an end to their depredations, but these were resumed at the beginning of the eleventh century, when Buwayhid power declined. The mountaineers then seized control over all southern Kirmān and the city of Jiruft, and the founder of the Kirmān Seljuqs, Qāwurd, managed only by treachery to take these districts away from them and to subject the Kūfichīs to his rule.<sup>49</sup> Tomaschek identifies the country of the Kūfichīs with the present region of Bashākird, which is divided into six districts; their chieftains obey a sultan who lives in the town of Angurān, and the authority of the Persian government is virtually ignored.<sup>50</sup> Access to the region is extremely difficult, and as pack animals, only asses of local breed are used. The whole population is reckoned not to exceed 2,000 souls; aside from the ruling class of Persian and Balūch origin, there are natives of the Dravidian race, in whom Tomaschek sees the descendants of the Kūfichīs. Despite the proximity of the sea, the region has been little explored, and the natives are on an extremely low level of civilization.<sup>51</sup>

Of the whole coast of Persia, only the littoral of the Persian Gulf has had any importance in history, although adequate bays and anchorages are also found further east. The Strait of Hurmuz, separating the gulf from the ocean, received this name from the famous harbor that, down to the fourteenth century, lay on the mainland, somewhat to the east of the modern port of Bandar 'Abbās. One day's journey was reckoned between Hurmuz and the village of Sūrū, where fishermen lived and through which passed the road from Fārs to Hurmuz.<sup>52</sup> In the tenth century, Hurmuz was the port of the province of Kirmān, although it did not have a large population.<sup>53</sup> Subsequently, maritime trade with India cen-

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Hawqal, p. 221.

<sup>49</sup> Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rikh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, pp. 5-8.

<sup>50</sup> *Zur historischen Topographie*, I, 190. [The authority of the central government in Tehran has been imposed in Persian Balūchistān only during recent decades.]

<sup>51</sup> Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 304-309, for Bashākird: 8,000 inhabitants; four districts: Sindark, Jakdan, Anguhran, Marz; the inhabitants each paid forty pounds a year; Durrān Khān of Rūdbār tax farms the district, but he is also accountable for the results of incursions. Cf. Beliaev, *Otchet*, I, 98, Bashāgerd, and pp. 102 ff. (Bashākerd). (See also Spooner, "Kūch u Balūch and Ichthyophagi," *Iran, JBIPS*, II (1964), pp. 53-67; I. Gershevitch, "Travels in Bashkardia," *JRCAS*, XLV (1959), 213-25.) [Bosworth, *EP* Suppl., art. "Bashkard"; according to the *Farhang*, VIII, 49, the population of the region ca. 1950 was only about 6,700.]

<sup>52</sup> Iṣṭakhri, pp. 167, 170.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

tered principally on two points, Hurmuz and Kīsh, the latter on an island of the same name (now called Qays) in the Persian Gulf.<sup>54</sup> Because of commercial rivalry, there were always hostilities between the rulers of Kīsh and Hurmuz; each tried to harm his rival and stop his ships, to the great detriment of trade.<sup>55</sup> At the close of the twelfth century, when the Ghuzz led by Malik Dīnār took possession of Kirmān,<sup>56</sup> the ruler of Kīsh begged him to cede Hurmuz to him, promising to pay every year the sum of 100,000 dinars and to send fifty Arabian horses.<sup>57</sup>

The commercial importance of Hurmuz and Kīsh continued under the Mongols. According to Marco Polo, the main articles of export from Hurmuz, Kīsh, and other points to India, in exchange for Indian goods, were horses.<sup>58</sup> Marco Polo also informs us that the ruler of Hurmuz acknowledged himself a vassal of Kirmān, but that he was often remiss in paying the tribute and waged war against his suzerain.<sup>59</sup> He also ruled over the Arab coast and harbor of

<sup>54</sup> In Waṣṣāf, *Ta'rikh* (Bombay ed.), pp. 170 ff., there is the history of the Banū Qaysar, who ruled on the island for three hundred years until its conquest by the Atābek Abū Bakr under the ruler Malik Sulṭān. The ancestor was an inhabitant of Sīrāf; for the name of the island (after Qays, the son of Qaysar), see *ibid.*, p. 174. There is in Waṣṣāf, p. 175, the following reference: "And the imam Sa'd al-Dīn Arshad (the imamate and primacy in Qays is still held by his descendants) compiled a history of the kings of the Banī Qaysar." In Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 120, the coastal points are mentioned as dependencies of the House of Qays. Shift of commercial importance from Sīrāf to Qays under the Daylamīs (*ibid.*, p. 117). Also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 215 ff., about Qays and its ruler. Cf. also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt*, ed. M. Shafrī (Lahore, 1364/1965), p. 197. According to Muḥammad Ja'far Ḥusaynī Khūrmūjī, *Āthār-i Ja'fari* (Tehran, 1276/1860), "The island of Qays, although it is one of the largest islands of the Persian Gulf, is barren and uninhabited." «For the island of Qays, see also Streck, *El*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Kais."») [J. Lassner, *El*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Kays."]

<sup>55</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan, Soch.* I, 462.

<sup>56</sup> For Dīnār, the history of Afḍal Kirmānī was compiled in 584/1188; it was lithographed in 1876 in Tehran (the *'Iqd al-'ulā*). For this work, see also Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 48 n. 3; also mentioned in Rozen, *ZVORAO*, II, 182, and C. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1895), pp. 90-91. «(Or. 2887; Or. 3584; cf. Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 357, 1297.)» [Storey-Bregel', II, 1,056-57; there are various more recent printed texts of the *'Iqd al-'ulā* than the 1293/1876 lithograph, such as that of Muḥammad 'Āmirī Nā'ini (Tehran, 1311/1932).]

<sup>57</sup> Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rikh-i Saljuqiyān-i Kirmān*, pp. 160-61.

<sup>58</sup> Minaev's translation, p. 261 [Eng. tr. Yule, II, 276-77]. «See also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt*, pp. 196 ff.» [On this trade in horses, see S. Digby, *War-horse and Elephant in the Delhi Sultanate, a Study of Military Supplies* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 30-31.]

<sup>59</sup> Minaev's translation, p. 308 [Eng. tr. Yule, II, 381-82]. Data about the island of Baḥrayn in Khūrmūjī, *Āthār-i Ja'fari*; in 663/1235-6, the atabek Abū Bakr con-

Qalhāt to the southeast of Masqaṭ, whither he withdrew whenever the ruler of Kirmān sent an army against him; he would then seize the ships sailing into the Persian Gulf.<sup>60</sup> The ruler of Kirmān suffered such a loss of revenue that he was forced to conclude a peace. The rulers of Hurmuz were clearly of Arab origin, for the name of the dynasty's founder was Maḥmūd Qalhātī.<sup>61</sup> The Aryans of Central Asia could not quite overcome their fear of the sea, while the natives of the Arab littoral, 'Umān, were always daring sea rovers. Only the mightiest rulers of Persia, such as the Buwayhids in the pre-Mongol period (especially 'Aḍud al-Dawla) and the Saljuqs were able to extend their authority over 'Umān.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the plundering carried out by the Mongols in Kirmān forced the ruler of Hurmuz to transfer his seat to the island of Zarūn or Jirūn, now Hurmuz. Here, three farsakhs from Old Hurmuz, there grew up New Hurmuz.<sup>62</sup> The port remained in Arab hands.<sup>63</sup> At the beginning of

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quered it, and eight years later he added also Qaṭīf and Laḥsā to his domains. Under the Atabeks and Mongols, the island was a dependency of Fārs, under the Salāṭīn-i Turkmāniyya, of the ruler of Hurmuz; under Shāh 'Abbās I it was again united with Fārs; under the last Ṣafawids it was seized by the Arabs of the coastal zone of Fārs and Lāristān, who had rebelled; under Nādir Shāh it was again united with Fārs; in 1209/1794-5, the rebellious Banū 'Utba Arabs seized it. (Cf. Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf, an Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1930).) Pearls: for pearl fishing, see now Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 241. about one million pounds, of which one-half from Baḥrayn. According to Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 138, the greatest quantity of pearls is acquired from the island of Khārk. (For Khārk, see also below, as well as Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 261; Jalāl Āl-i Aḥmad, *Durr-i yatīm, jazīra-yi Khārg* (Tehran, 1339/1960); R. Ghirshman, *Île de Kharg* (Tehran, 1960); for Baḥrayn, see Bodianskii, *Bakhrēin*; G. Rentz and W. Mulligan, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "al-Baḥrayn.") [Aubin, "Les princes d'Ormuz du XIIIe au XVe siècle," *JA*, CCXLI (1953), pp. 77-138. For pearl fishing, see Mohammad Mokri, "La pêche des perles dans le Golfe Persique," *JA*, CCXLVIII (1960), 381-97 = *Recherches de Kurdologie. Contribution scientifique aux études iraniennes* (Paris, 1970), pp. 261-77.]

<sup>60</sup> For Qalhāt and the ruins of the old town, see J. R. Welsted, *Reisen in Arabien* (Halle, 1842), I, 32 ff. (See also the bibliography in the article by J. Schleifer, *EP*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Qalhāt.") [J. C. Wilkinson, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Qalhāt."]

<sup>61</sup> *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. and tr. Sir H. Yule and H. Cordier (London, 1903), I, 113.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Forbiger, *Handbuch*, II, 553-54. Sykes's opinion (*Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 85, 302) about Mīnāb (site of the ruins of Old Hurmuz). (See also Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 318; a different opinion in Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, III, 243 ff. For Hurmuz, see also R. Stube, "Zur Geschichte des Hafens von Hormuz," *Xenia Nicolaitana. Festschrift zur Feier der 400 Jahre des Bestehens der Nikolaischule in Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 177-96; *idem*, *EP*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Hormuz"; L. Lockhart, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Hurmuz.")

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Clavijo, ed. Sreznevskii, pp. 178 ff. [tr. Le Strange, pp. 160-61], for the



the sixteenth century, the ruler was forced to submit to the Portuguese, who also seized the island of Qishm; in 1622 they in turn were driven out from both points by Shāh 'Abbās. After Shāh 'Abbās, the island lost its importance, and the town of Gombrun, now Bandar 'Abbās, became the chief commercial port.<sup>64</sup> The climate on both the island and the mainland is extremely inhospitable for Europeans; the debilitating heat is compounded by humidity and dust, although it stays below the level that it reaches on the Arab coast of the gulf.<sup>65</sup> Maritime trade here as well as on the Makrān coast was in Arab hands; the Persians constituted the agricultural population. From the period of the reign of Nādir Shāh down to that of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Bandar 'Abbās and some other coastal points were even in the political sense under the sway of the sultān of Masqat; in Nāṣir al-Dīn's time, however, the Persian government succeeded in establishing its authority here. At present, the sultān or imām of Masqat owns on the northern coast only the harbor and district of Gwādur, within the confines of Balūchistān.<sup>a</sup>

The Aryans obviously occupied the littoral of Makrān only after having occupied Kirmān. The Greek name, Gedrosia, seems to be derived from that branch of the Persians which was called by Herodotus Δηρουσιαῖοι. The present name, Makrān, is not of Aryan origin but stems, most scholars believe, from the name of that people of Dravidian origin which appears in Greek sources as Μάχαι or Μύχαι, and in cuneiform inscriptions as Maka or Masiia.<sup>66</sup> In the work of one Greek geographer, Stephanus Byzantinus, we find the name of the region as Μαχαρηνή; Muslim authors use, in addition to the form Makrān, also the form Makurān.<sup>67</sup> Even today,

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submission of Hurmuz to Tīmūr. Fantastic idea about the journey from China: ten days by sea, ten days up a river to Hurmuz.

<sup>64</sup> In della Valle (instead of Gombrun there is) Combū and Combrū; Pietro della Valle, *The Travels . . . in India*, tr. G. Havers (London, 1892), I, 3, 8.

<sup>65</sup> On the island of Zarūn there is no water; it was brought there by boat from Qishm (Iskandar Munshī, ms., fol. 318b, ed. Tehran, II, 959-60, tr. Savory, II, 1181); *ibid.*, Bandar-i 'Abbāsī; its former name was Bandar-i Kambrū; the leader of the Persians in the war of 1622; Shāh 'Abbās was at that moment besieging Qandahār, which he took two or three days after the arrival of the news about the fall of Hurmuz (fol. 320a), *ibid.*, ed. Tehran, II, 979-82, tr. Savory, II, 1200-1204.

<sup>a</sup> The port of Gwādur, long a center for gun-running into Balūchistān and Afghanistan, was sold to Pakistan by Oman in 1958; see J. B. Kelly, *EP<sup>2</sup> Suppl.*, s.v.

<sup>66</sup> Old Persian Maka-, Mačiya-, see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 201.

<sup>67</sup> Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 31. [The etymology of the name Makrān has been much discussed. Recently, Hansman has suggested that the ancient Maga of Mesopotamian cuneiform texts equals what is now substantially Persian Makrān, and the more distant region of Melukhkha equals Pakistani Makrān; see "A Periplus of Magan

the population differs little, in terms of its civilization, from those *ichthyophagoi* whom Nearchos had seen here. The Arab geographers likewise mention fish as the staple food of the inhabitants. Because of its poverty and unfavorable climatic conditions, the littoral of Makrān had little attraction for mariners, and the history of this region remained virtually untouched by the lively maritime trade that had always existed between the estuary of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and that of the Indus. From the whole littoral between Hurmuz and the port of Daybul, situated somewhat to the west of the Indus estuaries, the Arab geographers mention only one port of call, the island of Tiz off the coast of Makrān.<sup>68</sup> The harbor of Tiz still exists on the coast of the same bay on which the harbor of Chāhbār is situated.<sup>69</sup> The Arabs mention the people called al-Zuṭṭ or al-Jut, probably of Indian origin, who lived in Makrān.<sup>b</sup> The chief cities of Makrān were always in the interior of the country, where agriculture could be practiced, although the whole region, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, suffered from lack of water; as a result, the predominant type of population was nomadic.<sup>70</sup> The number of rivers is rather high, but their beds are dry for the greater part of the year. The capital of Makrān before the Arabs was Panjpūr, identical, as Marquart suggests, with Diz in the district of Panjpūr in Balūchistān not far from the Persian border.<sup>71</sup> Under the Arabs, the town of Kēj, the Kīj or Kīz of the Arab geographers, arose and

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and Meluhha," BSOAS, XXXVI (1973), 554-87, but the intrusive *r* of Makrān is a difficulty here.]

<sup>68</sup> Description of the coast from Tiz to Daybul in Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. Sachau (London, 1888), I, 208-209 (Tiz was considered to be the beginning of the Indian coast). Cf. N. Zarudnyi's journey in 1900 ("Otchet," pp. 153 ff.); Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 131, 356, regarding the Kūh-i Tāftan near Ladis (illustration with p. 132). For the old citadel of Tiz, see Zarudnyi, "Otchet," p. 163.

<sup>69</sup> In Chāhbār, according to Zarudnyi, "Otchet," p. 160, about 300 houses, mostly simple huts, and about 30 shops. According to Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 90, 110), it is a village; Tiz is better situated. [Chāhbahār is now an important base for the Iranian Navy; see *The Persian Gulf States, A General Survey*, ed. A. J. Cottrell et al. (Baltimore, 1980), p. 158. In ca. 1950 it had a population of some 20,000 (*Farhang*, VIII, 108).]

<sup>b</sup> These are the Jhāts, an Indo-European people, originally centered on the Panjab but spreading westwards in early Islamic times as far as the head of the Persian Gulf; see G. Ferrand, *EP*<sup>I</sup>, art. "Zuṭṭ," and A. S. Bazmee Ansari, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Djāts."

<sup>70</sup> P. 235.

<sup>71</sup> Panjgūr is one of the best and most fertile regions of Makrān, and its inhabitants, the most civilized (Hughes, *The Country of Balochistan*, p. 157); the city of Panjgūr (Diz?) and its commercial importance (*ibid.*, p. 161); the term Kalāt-i Makrān (*ibid.*, *passim*).

## QŪHISTĀN, KIRMĀN, MAKRĀN

remained the chief city of the region in the Middle Ages. The writers of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries often used the term Kij wa Makrān in order to designate the whole province, so that Marco Polo calls it Kesmakoran<sup>72</sup> and reckons it as belonging to India.<sup>73</sup> Today Kēj also lies within the confines of Balūchistān.<sup>74</sup> The main city of Makrān and Persian Balūchistān is Bampūr; the governor of this region, who resides there, is a subordinate of the governor of Kirmān.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Marco Polo, Minaev's translation, p. 290 [tr. Yule, II, 334-35].

<sup>73</sup> The region Kij wa Makrān was still part of India (the empire of the Great Mughals) in the seventeenth century, up to 1621; see Iskandar Munshī, ms. fol. 306b [ed. Tehran, II, 861-62, tr. Savory, II, 1073-74].

<sup>74</sup> Kēj is today not a town but a combination of several fortifications and villages; formerly there were 3,000 houses; trade with Kalāt, Shikārpūr, the ports of Gwādur and Chāhbār; now it has considerably declined (Hughes, *The Country of Balochistan*, p. 158); place where the tax collector from Kalāt stayed; Kēj and the khan of Kalāt.

<sup>75</sup> Bampūr, according to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 122; there were two hundred huts in all. For Bampūr and Fahraj, see also *ibid.*, index. (For the history of Makrān and its monuments, see also Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia and Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and Southern Iran*; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 17-18, 145-46; M. L. Dames, *EI*<sup>1</sup>, art. "Balōčistān"; Frye, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Balūčistān.") [Bosworth, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Makrān"; for the geography of the region, W. B. Fisher, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, I, 81-90. As indicated by Stein, the Bampūr-Jaz Muryān basin is rich in archaeological sites, the detailed investigation of which has only recently begun; see Beatrice de Cardi, "Excavations at Bampūr, S.E. Iran: a Brief Report," *Iran, JBIPS*, VI (1968), 135-255.]

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